A HISTORY

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT TIMES.

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THE TIME OF JESUS.

VOL. I.

TRANSLATED, WITH THE AUTHOR'S SANCTION, FROM THE SECOND GERMAN EDITION, BY

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THE TIME OF JESUS.

VOL. I.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The History of the New Testament Times is now presented to the reader in a revised and enlarged edition. The latter part of the work, especially, has at the same time been much altered under the influence of Dr. Keim's Jesus of Nazara.

In the plan of the book nothing has been altered. The aim in view is still to present a history of the development of culture in the times of Jesus and the writers of the New Testament, so far as this development had a direct influence upon the rise of Christianity; and then to give the history of this rise itself, so far as it can be treated as an objective history, and not as a subjective religious process.

The author, in the Preface to the first edition, wrote as follows: "What we call the sacred history, is the presentation of only the most prominent points of a far broader historical life. The history of the Old Testament has always been treated in connection with the history of Israel; while, on the other hand, the attempt to give a connected presentation of all the historical circumstances which form the basis of the New Testament history and literature, was not made before the time of Dr. Matthew Schneckenburger, owing to the dissimilar character of the materials. For the New Testament history is not like that of the Old Testament, member of one single national development, but displays itself in various territories, and enters into the most

diverse developments. Although the time of Jesus is connected with the confines of Jewish history, yet with every new period does its borders become wider and its perspective more extensive. We have to commence our narrative at the time when affairs in general present themselves in the form reflected by the Gospels. Thus we find ourselves thrown into the first period of the Roman dominion in Judæa. It will be our task to describe this period, so far as its events stand in either direct or indirect relations to the chief religious facts of the New Testament.

"In doing this, there will be no necessity to attempt the useless task of tracing the origin of Christianity itself from the transitory relations of the period. There were at other times, also, favourable relations, operative conditions, and circumstances tending irresistibly to catastrophes, and yet no new religion proceeded from them, because the creative and moulding Spirit was not present in the chaos. Christianity in its essence is the work, not of circumstances, but of Christ. But the personal life, this creative point around which the seething elements are gathered, and that gives form to the molten metal that otherwise becomes dross, this is ever the immediate act of God, which cannot be farther explained or derived. Here is the thread to be sought for which connects things immediately with God. Yet no one will fall into the error of supposing that this sacred history is not a part of the history of the time. It has not been phantasmagorically reflected down from Heaven upon the background of actual history, but has been developed as an actual part of actual history, and amidst the most vigorous reciprocal efforts with the given conditions of the time; although we have been accustoming ourselves to consider it apart from its original connection, as though it were the course of a divine revelation which passed

over all the historical occurrences as well as the life of that generation. Thus the task has arisen of again uniting this New Testament history to the chronological connections in which it stood when it was the present; to observe it, not, indeed, as a product, but yet as a part of a more general historical process; to present it as those who experienced it knew it, mingled and confused with thoroughly secular circumstances.

"In this view of our task there lies, however, a two-fold limitation. Not everything which occurred in the two centuries which we have designated by the name of the 'New Testament Times,' can be an object of our study, but only those which stand in connection with the New Testament history. But this history is not, in and for itself, the object of our description; we are concerned only with it in its relation to the time. That this side of the subject also can demand attention, will be denied by none.

"Such an attempt certainly must hold itself, from the first, opposed to both the magical and the mythical derivation of Christianity. Within a purely historical presentation there is no room for the poetical world of the religious Saga; its images fade away when thrown before a clear historical background. The sharper the boundary of terrestrial things is drawn, the less is the place found for good and evil angels. But even that assumption which supposes that the concrete life of the New Testament history is only the mythical figure of the phantasy of a later time, does not find here any support. If we can demonstrate that the sacred history is a fragment of universal history and show how the edges fit, if we can again gather up the broken threads which unite it with the secular world, then the supposition that this history is the beautiful dream of a later generation is excluded.

"Of materials for the solution of this problem there is no want. How things appeared from the standpoint of the upper classes, is best described by Josephus in the palace of the Flavians near the Septizonium; how the ordinary man found them, is known by the expressions of the first Christian communities. The task is to see the circumstances described by Josephus with the eyes of the Evangelists, and from their experiences to complete them; and also to read the narratives of the Gospels in connection with the historical circumstances described by Josephus. So far as the current of the narrative permits, it is the intention of the writer to allow the sources themselves to speak.

"The task, as the writer therefore understands it, is from its very nature a positive one. Not only do the events, considered historically, rest upon a firm foundation, since they are taken in connection with historically certain data, but the figures of the sacred history stand out in sharper outlines when we paint the pale background of the historical circumstances with the deeper colours with which the hand of Josephus especially supplies us. A pleasure in negative results will be found by none in this book. To the writer's eye, the negative pictures of criticism usually present themselves as positive ones; perhaps often too quickly so. But in any case, for him criticism has value only as means of correction; of negation, never. This will not prevent those who regard the industry and earnest work of our theological tendency only as a species of that obstinacy with which sin adheres to sin, or at the most as the course of headstrong vanity, from pouring out the vials of their wrath upon this book. These people make the mistake of supposing that the present theological position is the mere arbitrary product of some few individuals, and that they can prevent any alteration being made, if only they will exert themselves to embitter the lives of certain

theologians. Theology, on its side, is not responsible for this position. To the more exact knowledge of the times and home of primitive Christianity, orientalists, classical philologists and travellers in Palestine have made the most valuable contributions, and thus it has happened that much must now be taken in connection with historical ideas and relations which formerly was accepted as revelation. What is in Philo, Josephus and the Rabbis, historical theology, cannot immediately become in the Apostles inspiration. This situation is the product of the development of the last few decades; it is not we who have made it. It has always happened that the first attempts to substitute a more adequate method of presenting the fundamental religious facts for the traditional, have immediately raised the suspicion that religion itself was being injured. On this point also we find ourselves to-day upon historical ground."

Although holding fast by this standpoint to-day, yet we cannot deny that in many other respects our first attempts to give a purely historical treatment of the commencement of our religion was somewhat unsatisfactory.

The splendid manner in which Ferdinand Christian Baur attempted this same task, some thirty years ago, is well known. Never has the internal criticism of historical sources been treated in a more lofty manner than, for example, in his Church History of the First Three Centuries. In this work the collected literary materials were sifted, and its position allotted to every part; and thus the old ecclesiastical history became pre-eminently a history of literature. But the presentation of the literary process is only a part of the work to be accomplished. Literary monuments are always only a casual deposit of historical movements, not these movements themselves. After the contest about theological conceptions which presents itself more espe-

cially in literature, there remain rich historical materials, which had little interest for Baur. The true motive power of Christianity was not its theology, but the strong religious and moral impulse which proceeded from Jesus himself. The rest is merely local and individual. Much, too, was developed from the relations of the young Church to the century and the state. To complete the picture of theological movements which Baur has so splendidly described, upon this side, is the task which historical theology has inherited from the mighty dead. An attempt to bring out the historical connection interwoven between the primitive Church and its age, was first undertaken by Renan. But just as certainly as he who needs the mechanical impulse of miracle as an explanation of the conquest of Christianity over the powers of its age, has *not* comprehended its internal pre-eminence, so neither has he who seeks to explain that great movement by any of the childish vehicles used by Renan. Various kinds of idyllic situations, foolish coincidents, innocent deceits, cannot make a new theory of life. History, more especially the religious, declines such a petty derivation.

What is needed is rather such a comprehension of the internal pre-eminence of Christianity over the theories and tendencies of its age, that its course can be understood without recourse to the crutches of miracles and convenient coincidences. Certainly, there must be above all a religious understanding, which has a proper sense of the power of the factors here at work. When an irreligiousness which is self-conscious and founded on principle undertakes to write "A Life of Jesus," it at once becomes apparent that, in order to understand a founder of religion, one must oneself be religious; just as much as to compose a useful history of music, one must be musical. Only on the supposition that he was not able to appreciate the power of religion, can we

explain the strange judgment of David Strauss, that all the true and good things uttered by Jesus are scarcely worthy of regard when compared with the results of the belief in the resurrection; so that, *historically considered*, this must be declared to be the greatest historic humbug which ever occurred. Thus it was considered possible *historically* to derive a revolution like that of Christianity from an illusion. When the one theory refutes the other, it is because it rests upon *internal* grounds; and where those are wanting, neither actual nor invented miracles can turn the course of the world's history. But for him who places no value upon the power of religious impulse, all the mighty revolutions in the world's history proceeding from this source remain unintelligible; and because he sees movements whose motive power he cannot recognize, the whole of the antecedents appear to him to be—humbug! Such a conception may be interesting, but it cannot be called *historic*.

An historical view of Christianity is that alone which understands the conquest of Christianity as *internally necessary*. To this task this present book offers a contribution, in so far as it describes the events of that great epoch, and at the same time attempts to picture how this age itself appeared in the little religious circles. Should it at times seem as though the history of the period was transformed into a New Testament history, this will be excused on the ground that the external influences of the time upon the young Church were always conditioned by its own internal development. The present conclusion of the whole work will assure the reader that the author remains conscious of his plan.

A. HAUSRATH.

HEIDELBERG, *April 1st*, 1873.

TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

In order to make this work more useful to our readers, whenever an English edition or translation exists of works referred to in the notes, the reference given is to the English edition. Thus all the references to Robinson in this translation will be found in the second edition of Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches in Palestine" (London: John Murray, 1856). Those to the Pirqe Aboth will be found in "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," by Charles Taylor, M.A. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1877). The references to Josephus are those of the edition of Didot: Paris, MDCCCXLV, which will be found to correspond to those of Whiston's Translation, with very few exceptions. Those of the Bible are to the English Bible. When practicable, the words of the Authorized Version have been preserved. It has at times been found necessary to depart from this Version in order to preserve the meaning of the original. Great assistance has been obtained in this work from "The Holy Bible," edited, with various Renderings and Readings, by Revds. T. K. Cheyne, R. L. Clarke, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Goodman: London, 1876.

The references to the Psalms of Solomon will be found in the "Messias Judæorum" of Dr. Hilgenfeld, Leipzig, 1868; to Enoch, in "Das Buch Enoch" of Dr. A. Dillmann, Leipzig, 1853; and to the Sibylline Oracles, in "Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen, vollständig Gesammelt," von Dr. J. H. Friedlieb, Leipzig, 1852.

The reader is requested to make the following corrections:

Page 89, note 1. The reference to "Jesus of Nazara," Theological Translation Fund Library, i. 433, is to the German edition. The reference to the English is ii. 157.

Page 99, note 1. For Philo, De curit, read De carit.

Page 111. The reference to note 1 is Berachot, bab. 61 a. At line 16 from the top of the page, at the word "out," read note 2, a reference to Philo, de profugis i. Mang. 554.

Page 191. Line 22 from top, for "were the first which enabled," read "were those which at last enabled."

Page 200. Line 17 from top, for "deceived," read "undeceived;" and line 26 from top, for "by the most celebrated Rabbis," read "of the most celebrated Rabbis."

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THE HOLY LAND AT THE TIME OF JESUS.

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1. Galilee.

The land of the Jews lies immediately before the final setting of its political existence once more clearly in the light of history. Josephus, the classic authority of this period, has narrated all the circumstances with an affection which is felt for one's own country only when it has been lost for ever. The Roman historians speak with the ardour with which an intense hatred inspires them. The Christian sources everywhere describe the land the more faithfully because unconsciously.

Let us begin our journey in the north, where on the west the broad and even ridge of Lebanon, and on the east the lofty heights of Hermon, covered by eternal snow, form the natural and historical frontiers of the country.

Towards Lebanon, the deep and rocky valley of the foaming Leontes has drawn an irremovable boundary between the countries, which through all the centuries, therefore, has remained the same. The district of Ulatha and Paneas, not being enclosed in this way, runs up into the valleys of Hermon.

Upon the elevated terraces of this mountain was situated in the time of Jesus the newly-built Cæsarea Philippi, the most northerly town of the land of the Jews, lying back in a gorge of Mount Hermon, which towers majestically behind it to the clouds. On the declivity of the mountain, a thousand feet above the

town, stands the ancient fortress, "the tower of Lebanon, which looketh towards Damascus."[1] This district, to which Mount Panios gave its name, and that from the year 19 B.C. had been again united to the kingdom of Herod, had by the poets of the Song of Solomon and the Psalms been celebrated for its forests and rushing streams;[2] and now, too, was most highly esteemed on account of its fresh mountain meadows and smiling fields, as was testified by the fact that here were the Sanctuary of Pan and the marble temple of Augustus, and that to it were assigned the proud names of Cæsarea and Neronias,—names through which the tetrarchs Philip and Agrippa manifested their devotion in thus offering the town as their most valued possession to the master of the world.[3]

Beneath the steep declivities of these highlands a marshy plain extends, upon which grow immense flags and sedges, giving rise to a miasmal atmosphere that no inhabitants can endure.[4] The Jordan finds a languid course through this marsh on its way to the weed-covered LAKE OF MEROM. The inhabitants of Galilee only visited this district as a hunting-ground, in order to chase the wild boar and buffalo, which, collected in herds, rejoiced in its marshy thickets. Otherwise the country was shunned, because robbers as well as political exiles were accustomed to find refuge in the impassable morasses and thickets of reeds.[5] It is below the lake of Merom that the district first becomes habitable again, and here a tolerably active traffic commences, in that the caravan road, which runs from Damascus to Ptolemais, crosses the Jordan in this place, in the neighbourhood of the present Jacob's-bridge, and descends to the lake of Tiberias.

The real life and business of the district also was found here, and the LAKE OF TIBERIAS can with good reason be called the eye of Galilee. At that time, even more than at the present day, was the full splendour of a southern climate exhibited there. In

[1] Song Sol. vii. 4.
[2] Song Sol. iv. 8, vii. 5; Ps. xlii. 6, &c.
[3] Jos. Bell. i. 21, 3, ii. 9, 1; Jos. Ant. xx. 9, 4.
[4] Jos. Bell. iii. 10, 7; Robinson, Palestine, ii. 434.
[5] Bell. i. 16, 5.

exquisite contrast, the blue surface of the lake lies embosomed in the yellow limestone mountains. The shores smile in a lovely profusion of flowers, and only on the eastern side does the barren and gloomy precipice stand forth with its naked and dismal-looking basaltic rocks. The most delightful spot on the lake is the plain of Gennesareth, where formerly all the fruits of Palestine ripened. The mountains, too, were not wanting in a growth of trees. Cypresses, fir-trees, almonds, pines, Scotch firs, cedars, Savin-trees, olives, myrtles, laurels, palms and balsams were mentioned by a younger contemporary of Jesus as the noblest trees of his home.[1] Here, according to Josephus, all of them throve. The district which is now barren was then one luxuriant garden. Bushes of the red blooming oleander, figs and vine-trellises and soft lawns surrounded the bank; and while stately walnut-trees and olive-groves covered the heights, on the bank slender palms waved their fan-like branches to and fro.[2]

On the lake, which is about fifteen miles long and six miles broad,[3] were situated three good-sized towns and quite a succession of villages. There, where the caravan-road meets the lake, do we find the town of Jesus, CAPERNAUM. While CHORAZIN is to be looked for on the heights near the outflow of the Jordan into the lake, and BETHSAIDA on its banks towards the north, DALMANUTHA and MAGDALA are to be found at the southern end. The houses and streets of these places we must picture to ourselves as resembling those of oriental ones of the present day, and not after the analogy of the Græco-Roman architecture; for where the latter prevails, as, for example, in Zebulon, Josephus finds it necessary to inform us expressly of the fact.[4] It was different in TIBERIAS, which Antipas had built to the north of the hot springs of Emmaus in the Roman style. The lake, which as a rule only looked upon uniform Syrian huts and plain four-

[1] Jubil, 21 (Göttg. Jahrbuch. 1851, p. 19). [2] Bell. iii. 10, 7, 8.

[3] Robinson, ii. p. 417, gives the length as only twelve miles; Stanley, Sinai and Pal. p. 367, as thirteen miles.

[4] Bell. ii. 18, 9.

cornered synagogues, here reflected proud Grecian colonnades and Roman arches, and palaces adorned with sculptures, the beauty of which could afford no pleasure, certainly, to the Jewish eye. Still the town was also distinguished as possessing a stately synagogue, in whose immense Basilica meetings of the people were held during the period of the revolution.[1] A larger town and of more Jewish character was TARICHÆA, which lay at the southern end of the lake. Here, where the Jordan flows out of Gennesareth, which is one of the most fish-abounding lakes in the whole world, the trade of fisherman was a very prosperous one. Pickled in barrels, the fish of Tarichæa were sent far and wide.[2] The Gospels, too, are aware of this busy fish-trade. The vessels sail up and down;[3] the fishermen in their boats set their nets to right with the help of assistants,[4] or glide busily over the surface with their nets spread out to dry.[5] The number of boats upon the lake was so great, that in the Jewish war a formal engagement took place before Tarichæa between the fishing-boats of the Jews and the rafts of the Romans.[6]

The eastern side is bounded by the steep and barren declivities of the mountains of Gaulanitis, the feet of which run out right into the lake. Below JULIAS, which was situated upon both banks of the Jordan above its outflow into the lake, are GERGESA, GAMALA and HIPPOS, the most important places upon the farther bank. The smiling fields of the bank-side are continued for some considerable distance into the plains of Jordan to the south of Tarichæa and Hippos. The Jordan waters the valley by means of its sinuous windings and the multitude of its tributaries that run down into it, on the west from the table-land of Tabor and the mountains of Gilboa, and on the east from the steep terraces of the mountains of Gaulanitis. Where the plain is most fruitful, and a broad valley, green with woods through which the clear stream of the (Dschalud) Jâlûd roars, leads up to SCYTHOPOLIS, one of the towns of the Decapolis, there we stand upon

[1] Jos. Vita, 54.
[2] Strabo, 16, 2.
[3] Matt. viii. 23, xiv. 13.
[4] Matt. iv. 21.
[5] Luke v. 4, 6.
[6] Bell. iii. 10, 9.

the frontier of Galilee.[1] The part of Galilee which rises on the west of the valley of the Jordan is an undulating hilly country, that only in the north attains any considerable elevation. Towards Lebanon the forests are wild and extensive, while in the middle and southern districts there is a deficiency of trees, but not of verdant dales and fruitful table-lands. The northern boundary descends rapidly towards the Leontes, while the western boundary descends somewhat more gently towards the sea-coast. From this north-western declivity the eye looked down directly upon the venerable TYRE and the white sands of the coast which divide the blue sea from the mountains. As now the steamboats, so then the high-built triremes and stately "ships of Tarshish" attracted attention as they glided up and down along the coast. Farther to the south towards ECDIPPA, the mountains recede from the coast, and give place to the considerable plain of PTOLEMAIS, as far as the wooded cape of Carmel, that at the southern boundary of Galilee descends precipitously into the sea.

The glittering sands of the coast, Tyre made gloomy by its dye-works and factories, the smoking chimneys of the glass-works, the busy commercial life,—all remind us that there the Hebrew world ceases, and that of the Phœnicio-Grecian with its interests begins. On the other hand, in the hilly district between the valley of the Jordan and the sea-coast, a number of important Jewish villages are situated—as GISCALA, HAZOR, RAMAH, GABARA, ZEBULON, JOTAPATA, JAPHA, CANA, RIMMON, SEPPHORIS, NAZARETH, SIMONIAS, and GABATHA.

From the western declivity of these heights we look over towards CARMEL, whose line of hills, running towards the south-west, formed the boundary of Galilee, which continued over the southern end of the plain of ESDRAELON away towards the mountains of GILBOA, at whose eastern declivity it reached SCYTHOPOLIS. This champaign—which was bounded by the wooded heights of Carmel and over-towered in the north by the peak of

[1] Plin. 5, 16; Bell. ii. 18, 3; Robinson, Vol. iii. 331.

Tabor, rich in flowers, through which, too, the KISHON, the ancient river, winds like a thread of silver—was the real market of Galilee, and the historic ground upon which all the great battles of Israel had been fought. "A river of battles is the river Kishon,"[1] was said even at the time of the Judges. With each of the hills around are connected ancient traditions. In the south, LEGIO, the ancient MEGIDDO;[2] in the east, JEZREEL, with the vineyard of Naboth, and the tower where the dogs devoured the body of Jezebel; to the north, situated on another line of hills, the village SHUNEM, which Elijah sometimes used to visit, and where was the dwelling of the beautiful Abishag, the most beautiful woman in the kingdom of David.

At the back are concealed the hills of ENDOR, where Saul called up the shade of Samuel. Certainly, these mountains must then have presented a blooming appearance, very different from the present, when, according to the poet's description, the beautiful Shulamite went down into the garden of nuts "to see the fruits of the valley, and to see whether the vine flourished and the pomegranates budded;" when lilies could be gathered on the plain, and balsam-espaliers and vine-trellises surrounded the gardens.[3]

With the plain of Jezreel, Galilee ends. We enter the district, at the commencement of our period, to find it thronged with towns, villages and hamlets; we leave it at its end covered with ruins. Josephus enumerates in it two hundred and four townships, and fifteen fortified places.[4] According to his account, which is, however, incredible, the population on these from ninety to a hundred square miles must have amounted to more than 3,000,000.[5] Moreover, the Gospels introduce us to a thickly-

[1] Judges v. 21.

[2] Revelation xvi. 16.

[3] Song of Sol. vi. 11, vii. 12.

[4] Bell. ii. 20, 6; Vita, 37, 45.

[5] Bell. iii. 3, 2. Although it is inconceivable that a man like Josephus, who is supposed to have had command of an army of 100,000 men, should not have had a thorough knowledge of enumeration, yet his accounts of numbers are throughout in themselves impossible. In no part of the world in a mountainous country, especially in chalk mountains, have there been 30,000 human beings to the square mile: in the

populated country, and in more than one scene allow us to gather that, at least in lower Galilee, the population is confined and presses upon itself, and that all interests are associated together.[1]

Towns, villages and farmsteads are mentioned by Mark as lying on the declivity of the Galilean mountains.[2] No spot of land was, according to Josephus, without an owner,[3] and owing to the excessive subdivision of the ground, the spade had often displaced the plough.[4] The meadows were ploughed up for sowing. "No small beasts," says the Talmud,[5] "are bred in Israel, nor even in Syria and the deserts of the land of Judah." This means that tillage repaid the farmer. The heavy soil of the plain of Jezreel produces excellent maize and wheat; on the declivities a fiery wine is grown, and olives and rape-fields produce rich crops.[6] Men waded in oil, said the Rabbis, in their hyperbolical manner.[7] In the tropical climate of the deep valley-hollows of Gennesareth, the Indian banana and the balsam shrub grew. Indigo grows even now at Magdala, which the Talmud at that time called the town of dyers. "The land," Josephus informs us with pride, of his former province, "never suffered for want of inhabitants, for it is fertile and full of meadows, where trees of every kind grow, and promises a rich reward through its luxuriant fruitfulness to even the most miserable husbandry. The ground is most excellently tilled, and not a single plot left uncultivated. Moreover, through this ease in obtaining the means of life, the land was thickly covered with towns and numerous populous villages. The smallest of them had more than 15,000 inhabitants."[8]

The descriptions, too, in the Gospels, tell everywhere of an

most populous districts of Flanders at the present day there are only 15,000 to the square mile.

[1] Mark iii. 31, i. 35, 45, ii. 4, iii. 8, vi. 31, and other places.
[2] Mark vi. 36, 56.
[3] Bell. iii. 3, 2.
[4] Luke xvi. 3.
[5] Bava Kama, 7, 9.
[6] Bell. ii. 21, 2.
[7] Grätz, Geschichte d. Juden, iii. 359.
[8] Bell. iii. 3, 2. This number is intelligible only when by κώμη the whole district of the town and its suburbs is understood, according to the Hebrew manner of speaking.

active life. There is toiling in the vineyards,[1] ploughing in the fields,[2] and digging in the gardens.[3] In the towns there is constant building.[4] Before the mill the mill-stone lies in readiness;[5] the barns are filled, and new ones are formed.[6] On the heights are vineyards; while apart from the townships the whitewashed grave-stones of the burial-places gleam.[7] In the highways and hedges, the blind and halt await the alms of the travellers.[8] Day labourers are hired in the market, and paid in the evening;[9] with plough reversed, the labourer takes his homeward way;[10] even at a distance from the village, the singing and dancing of the holiday-makers can be heard;[11] in the market-places the children wrangle in their sports;[12] until late at night the noise of revelry and knocking at closed doors continues.[13] The drunken steward storms and beats and otherwise misuses the maid-servants.[14] In short, from morning until night, life is boisterous and much occupied and gay, and the busy people find no time for meditating on the kingdom of God. The one has bought a piece of ground and must needs go and see it; the other must prove the oxen which have been knocked down to him; the third has other business, a feast, a funeral, or a marriage.[15] "They ate, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded, they married and were given in marriage." So does Jesus describe the restless, busy life of his native land.[16]

Yet its industrious inhabitants were little respected by the Jews, in that their nationality was of a very composite character.[17] Not only Israelites, but also Phœnicians, Syrians, Arabs, and even Greeks dwelt in the land.[18] Carmel had almost been given up to the Syrians as their own;[19] it was the same with Kades,

[1] Matt. xx. 8. [2] Luke ix. 62; Mark iv. 3. [3] Matt. xxi. 28.
[4] Matt. vii. 24; Luke xiv. 30. [5] Mark ix. 42. [6] Luke xii. 17, 18.
[7] Matt. xxiii. 27. [8] Luke xiv. 23. [9] Matt. xx. 3, 4.
[10] Luke xvii. 7. [11] Luke xv. 25. [12] Matt. xi. 16.
[13] Luke xiii. 25. [14] Luke xii. 45. [15] Luke xiv. 18, 19, 20.
[16] Luke xvii. 28. [17] Matt. xxvi. 73; John i. 46, vii. 41, 52; Acts ii. 7, 8.
[18] Matt. iv. 15; Strabo, 16, 2; Jos. Vita, 12.
[19] Bell. ii. 18, 1; Plin. v. 17, 1; xxxvi. 65, 1.

on the other side of the lake of Merom.[1] Even the road from the plain of Jezreel to the valley of the Jordan ran through the Gentile Scythopolis, a place which the Jews much disliked.[2] The chief cause of this intermixture was, that the so-called via maris—the great commercial road which united Damascus and Ptolemais—ran with its Gentile station-houses right through Galilee.[3] From the present Jacob's-bridge the road led down towards Capernaum, and ran across the plateau of Ramah and Gabara, direct through the mountains of Ptolemais. The large caravan trade not only brought in many foreigners, but drew the natives, too, as caravan guides, camel-drivers, packers, labourers and in a hundred other occupations, into Gentile pursuits. The towns on the western declivity had consequently become very much like Phœnician places. Thus Josephus calls Zebulon a town "which had most beautiful houses, as beautiful as those of Tyre, Sidon and Berytus."[4] The new erections of the Herods, as, for example, Sepphoris, which had been rebuilt by Antipas, exhibited, moreover, the style of Roman architecture,—a sign that the inhabitants had lost many of their Jewish ways of thinking as well.[5] Thus the common people in Galilee had become less sensitive to what was foreign. Gentile towns like Tiberias would have been impossible in the more narrow precincts of Judæa, and would have excited the inhabitants into rebellion; whilst in Galilee the Herods, with their foreign character, were tolerated. Separated from the barren land of Levites and Rabbis by the intervening Samaritans, less leavened by the intense sectarianism which prevailed there, less hardened in Jewish orthodoxy, and in many ways influenced by their extensive foreign relations, the Galileans had not become of that narrowly exclusive character which was usually the product of Judaism.[6] Yet in spite of their many Gentile influences, the people of these mountains were, on the whole, uncorrupted. They had, it is true, learned many a superstition from their

[1] Bell. ii. 18, 1. [2] Vita, 6; Bell. iii. 3, 1. [3] Matt. iv. 15, x. 5.
[4] Bell. ii. 18, 9. [5] Ant. xviii. 2, 1; Vita, 22. [6] Mark iii. 22.

Syrian neighbours, and nowhere was the fear of witchcraft and the terror of demons greater than among them; nevertheless, their morals had remained pure: as, for example, in relation to the intercourse between the sexes much was forbidden among them which was allowed in the more bigoted Judæa.[1] The Galileans, moreover, in spite of their greater tolerance of Gentile ways, were in nowise inferior in patriotism. They held fast to the promises of Israel, and, as the Gospels show, took a vigorous interest in the synagogue. At the sacred festivals "they went up to Jerusalem, as was the custom of the feast."[2] In this way was it possible for the province to be compared, as regards national feeling, with every other Jewish district. Even the love of fighting kept their patriotism a living principle among these vivacious mountaineers. "Cowardice was never a failing of the Galileans," declares Josephus,[3] who also calls them in another place, "the usual disturbers of the peace of the country."[4] At the feasts in Jerusalem they were generally those who commenced the tumults;[5] and in the Jewish war they were the first to offer resistance to the Roman armies, and among the last who defended the ruins of Jerusalem stone by stone—worthy sons of those fathers of whom Deborah formerly sang:

> "Zebulon is a people that jeoparded their lives unto death;
> And Naphtali in the high places of the field."[6]

There were families, as that of the robber Ezekias and Judas, Galileans, in which hatred towards Rome was inherited from generation to generation, and that in every generation had its martyrs to the popular cause.[7] These bold soldiers formed in times of peace a quarrelsome people, whom it was difficult to manage, and on the frontiers some fray was nearly always on foot.[8]

[1] Compare Grätz, Geschichte d. Juden, iii. 223. [2] Luke ii. 42.
[3] Bell. iii. 3, 2; compare also 1 Maccab. v. 20—23.
[4] Bell. i. 16, 5, δις ἔθος ἦν θορυβεῖν.
[5] Luke xiii. 1; Antiq. xvii. 10, 2; Bell. ii. 3, 2, 4, 1, iii. 3, 2, &c.
[6] Judges v. 18. [7] Antiq. xx. 5, 2, xvii. 10, 5; Bell. ii. 17, 8.
[8] Antiq. xx. 6, 1; Bell. i. 16, 5; Tacitus, Ann. 12, 54.

The numerous clefts and caves of the limestone mountains of the highlands afforded refuge frequently to numerous bands of robbers, and the shepherds on Lebanon and Hermon were never to be relied on in times of commotion. In many districts, only too frequently was there a return of the time when, as

> "In the days of Jael, the highways were unoccupied,
> And the travellers journeyed through by-paths."[1]

But even the peaceful citizen of Galilee was not estimated at the full value of a Jewish man. In "Gelil-hagoim," all separation from the Gentiles could not be carried out as strictly as in Judæa; to the Jew, therefore, anxious about his purity, the Galilean could easily appear an object of suspicion. The Hebraic form of Syriac or Aramaic, which had at this time everywhere supplanted Hebrew, was here certainly spoken in its worst character. The rough dialect, like the language of all mountain dwellers, was rich in gutturals, and was considered boorish, so that the Galilean was at once recognized by the first words he uttered.[2]

Thus the man from the lake who went down to Judæa was a butt for the jokes of his countrymen there. Even Josephus narrates with self-enjoyment the good joke from which Cabul received its name. Twenty towns of Galilee had been presented by Solomon to king Hiram. "Cabul! it does not please me," king Hiram is reported to have said when he saw them. "What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day."[3]

Thus the inhabitants of the highlands were mocked, ridiculed and joked at by the Jews; but nevertheless there lay concealed beneath this primitive character a wealth of power and talent far greater than was possessed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. While every servant-girl in Jerusalem ridiculed their language, and the proverb said, "Can there any good thing come out of

[1] Judges v. 6.
[2] Mark xiv. 70; Matt. xxvi. 73.
[3] 1 Kings ix. 13; Antiq. viii. 5, 3. Cabul means unfruitful, unpleasing.

Nazareth?"[1] or, "Shall Christ come out of Galilee?"[2] it has not seldom happened in the history of Israel, as is narrated in the Acts of the Apostles: "They were all amazed and marvelled, saying, Behold! are not all these which speak Galileans?"[3] Even in the earliest times, the inhabitants had distinguished themselves above the earnest and strict people of Judæa by their poetical talents and sensitive feelings. The first rejoicings of the poetical spirit in Israel were re-echoed from these mountains, when Barak, the hero of the tribe of Naphtali, had defeated the Canaanites in the plain of Jezreel. Here, too, the most powerful of the prophetic utterances found their voice. Here Hosea poured forth his warm and deep-felt words, in which the excitable temperament of the people especially found expression. Here, too, the Song of Songs was composed by a poet, into whose heart the cheerful vicinage had poured its sunniest beams, and whose eyes were open to note how the flowers gleam, and the fig-tree puts forth its green figs, and the vine sprouts, and the bloom of the pomegranates unfolds itself. Amidst the luxuriance of nature there lived still a healthy people, whose conscience was not yet corrupted by Rabbinical sophistries, and where full-grown men were elevated far above their Jewish kinsfolk, sickening with fanaticism.[4]

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2. The Domain of the Samaritans.

To the south of the plain of Jezreel, another highland rises with a gradual ascent, the real mountain range of which runs southward even beyond the Dead Sea, with a breadth varying from four to five miles, while to its west a hilly district of about the same breadth leans upon it, through whose valleys, which run parallel to each other, there is a descent to the coast.

[1] John i. 46. [2] John vii. 41. [3] Acts ii. 7.
[4] Bell. iii. 2, 1, 3, 2; Tac. Hist. 5, 6; Philo, leg. Frankfurt, Ausg. 1023.

The northern part of these mountains was at the time of Jesus in possession of the Samaritans. Their territory began at Ginæa (En-Gannim), to the south of the plain, and ended at Acrabi (Acrabbi), to the north of Shiloh.[1]

In these valleys the descendants of those tribes from the Euphrates were yet dwelling, who had been settled in the deserted territory of the kingdom of the ten tribes, especially by Esarhaddon; and these people in the course of time had—combined with the remnant of Israel and the exiled Judæans expelled from Jerusalem in its long party contests—coalesced to form a separate Mosaic community.[2]

Large tracts of their territory had been lost by them in course of time, through the growth of the new Jewish state,[3] and their own proper district embraced at this time scarcely more than forty square miles. Still they had always contrived to retain the more fruitful parts of this highland in their own possession.

Here the limestone has not yet absorbed most of the springs, as in the southern part of the country.[4] Flat districts, with a black alluvial soil, often inundated rich corn-fields, vegetable gardens and fruit orchards, succeed one another in the low grounds. Vine-trellises and various sorts of noble trees clothe the warm limestone declivities, while forests of olives and chestnut trees cover the hills. The meadows and pasture-grounds of Samaria were celebrated throughout Israel.[5]

> Joseph is a fruitful bough,
> A fruitful bough by the well,

the dying patriarch had said, and his blessing had remained in the land.[6]

But the rich growth of trees constituted in ancient times

[1] Bell. iii. 3, 4. [2] Ezra iv. 2; Jos. Ant. xi. 8, 6.

[3] Maccab. x. 30, 38, xi. 28, 34, 57; Apion, ii. 4.

[4] The usual account, that the mountains of Ephraim and Judah belong to the Jura formation, rests on the authority of Schubert, and is confirmed by Fraas, Aus dem Orient., Stuttg. 1867, p. 40, &c.

[5] Bell. iii. 3, 4. [6] Gen. xlix. 22.

the great advantage of the Samaritan mountains. The western declivities of the mountains towards the plain of Sharon, were called simply "The oak forest,"[1] and even in their time do the prophets speak of the forest-crowned range of Samaria, the pasture-grounds on its heights, and the forest of thickets upon its peaks.[2]

Abundant showers of rain were the blessings of Nature, not yet deprived of her forests.[3]

The climate was temperate and healthy, so that the Romans often preferred the localities of Samaria to those of Judæa.[4]

Yet the scenery does not attain the beauty of that of Galilee, and all travellers who looked down from the heights above ENGANNIM, back towards the home of Jesus, have found a marked difference between the bold outlines of the highlands and the tame mountain ridges, the level valleys and rectilinear features of Samaria, which want character as much as its people.[5]

The first locality of the Samaritans at which the Galileans arrived in their journeys to Jerusalem was GINÆA (En-Gannim).[6] Somewhat higher up, upon the table-land, where the old caravan road to Egypt passes by, lies DOTHAN,[7] celebrated in the history of Joseph's youth. Up over the heights, through the little town of GEBA, the road proceeded to the capital SEBASTE, the ancient Samaria. Proudly and free does the hill arise upon which the town is built, in the middle of an extensive and fruitful range of valleys. Here lay "the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim," as Isaiah called it.[8] John Hyrcanus had destroyed the town in the autumn of the year 110 B.C., and in his fanatical hatred brought down streams of water over the ruins, in order that no Samaritan might ever settle upon the

[1] Bell. i. 13, 8.

[2] Isaiah ix. 18, ix. 9, xxviii. &c. So also 1 Sam. xiv. 25; 2 Sam. xviii. 6; 2 Kings ii. 24; Tubil. cap. 34.

[3] Bell. iii. 3, 4.

[4] Plin. Hist. Nat. 5, 14; Ptol. 5, 16; Strabo, 16, 2.

[5] Robinson, Pal. iii. 116, &c.

[6] Bell. ii. 12, 3.

[7] Judith iii. 9; Gen. xxxvii. 17.

[8] Isaiah xxviii. 3.

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THE TIME OF JESUS.

VOL. I.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The History of the New Testament Times is now presented to the reader in a revised and enlarged edition. The latter part of the work, especially, has at the same time been much altered under the influence of Dr. Keim's Jesus of Nazara.

In the plan of the book nothing has been altered. The aim in view is still to present a history of the development of culture in the times of Jesus and the writers of the New Testament, so far as this development had a direct influence upon the rise of Christianity; and then to give the history of this rise itself, so far as it can be treated as an objective history, and not as a subjective religious process.

The author, in the Preface to the first edition, wrote as follows:

"What we call the sacred history, is the presentation of only the most prominent points of a far broader historical life. The history of the Old Testament has always been treated in connection with the history of Israel; while, on the other hand, the attempt to give a connected presentation of all the historical circumstances which form the basis of the New Testament history and literature, was not made before the time of Dr. Matthew Schneckenburger, owing to the dissimilar character of the materials. For the New Testament history is not like that of the Old Testament, member of one single national development, but displays itself in various territories, and enters into the most

diverse developments. Although the time of Jesus is connected with the confines of Jewish history, yet with every new period does its borders become wider and its perspective more extensive. We have to commence our narrative at the time when affairs in general present themselves in the form reflected by the Gospels. Thus we find ourselves thrown into the first period of the Roman dominion in Judæa. It will be our task to describe this period, so far as its events stand in either direct or indirect relations to the chief religious facts of the New Testament.

"In doing this, there will be no necessity to attempt the useless task of tracing the origin of Christianity itself from the transitory relations of the period. There were at other times, also, favourable relations, operative conditions, and circumstances tending irresistibly to catastrophes, and yet no new religion proceeded from them, because the creative and moulding Spirit was not present in the chaos. Christianity in its essence is the work, not of circumstances, but of Christ. But the personal life, this creative point around which the seething elements are gathered, and that gives form to the molten metal that otherwise becomes dross, this is ever the immediate act of God, which cannot be farther explained or derived. Here is the thread to be sought for which connects things immediately with God. Yet no one will fall into the error of supposing that this sacred history is not a part of the history of the time. It has not been phantasmagorically reflected down from Heaven upon the background of actual history, but has been developed as an actual part of actual history, and amidst the most vigorous reciprocal efforts with the given conditions of the time; although we have been accustoming ourselves to consider it apart from its original connection, as though it were the course of a divine revelation which passed

over all the historical occurrences as well as the life of that generation. Thus the task has arisen of again uniting this New Testament history to the chronological connections in which it stood when it was the present; to observe it, not, indeed, as a product, but yet as a part of a more general historical process; to present it as those who experienced it knew it, mingled and confused with thoroughly secular circumstances.

"In this view of our task there lies, however, a two-fold limitation. Not everything which occurred in the two centuries which we have designated by the name of the 'New Testament Times,' can be an object of our study, but only those which stand in connection with the New Testament history. But this history is not, in and for itself, the object of our description; we are concerned only with it in its relation to the time. That this side of the subject also can demand attention, will be denied by none.

"Such an attempt certainly must hold itself, from the first, opposed to both the magical and the mythical derivation of Christianity. Within a purely historical presentation there is no room for the poetical world of the religious Saga; its images fade away when thrown before a clear historical background. The sharper the boundary of terrestrial things is drawn, the less is the place found for good and evil angels. But even that assumption which supposes that the concrete life of the New Testament history is only the mythical figure of the phantasy of a later time, does not find here any support. If we can demonstrate that the sacred history is a fragment of universal history and show how the edges fit, if we can again gather up the broken threads which unite it with the secular world, then the supposition that this history is the beautiful dream of a later generation is excluded.

"Of materials for the solution of this problem there is no want. How things appeared from the standpoint of the upper classes, is best described by Josephus in the palace of the Flavians near the Septizonium; how the ordinary man found them, is known by the expressions of the first Christian communities. The task is to see the circumstances described by Josephus with the eyes of the Evangelists, and from their experiences to complete them; and also to read the narratives of the Gospels in connection with the historical circumstances described by Josephus. So far as the current of the narrative permits, it is the intention of the writer to allow the sources themselves to speak.

"The task, as the writer therefore understands it, is from its very nature a positive one. Not only do the events, considered historically, rest upon a firm foundation, since they are taken in connection with historically certain data, but the figures of the sacred history stand out in sharper outlines when we paint the pale background of the historical circumstances with the deeper colours with which the hand of Josephus especially supplies us. A pleasure in negative results will be found by none in this book. To the writer's eye, the negative pictures of criticism usually present themselves as positive ones; perhaps often too quickly so. But in any case, for him criticism has value only as means of correction; of negation, never. This will not prevent those who regard the industry and earnest work of our theological tendency only as a species of that obstinacy with which sin adheres to sin, or at the most as the course of headstrong vanity, from pouring out the vials of their wrath upon this book. These people make the mistake of supposing that the present theological position is the mere arbitrary product of some few individuals, and that they can prevent any alteration being made, if only they will exert themselves to embitter the lives of certain

theologians. Theology, on its side, is not responsible for this position. To the more exact knowledge of the times and home of primitive Christianity, orientalists, classical philologists and travellers in Palestine have made the most valuable contributions, and thus it has happened that much must now be taken in connection with historical ideas and relations which formerly was accepted as revelation. What is in Philo, Josephus and the Rabbis, historical theology, cannot immediately become in the Apostles inspiration. This situation is the product of the development of the last few decades; it is not we who have made it. It has always happened that the first attempts to substitute a more adequate method of presenting the fundamental religious facts for the traditional, have immediately raised the suspicion that religion itself was being injured. On this point also we find ourselves to-day upon historical ground."

Although holding fast by this standpoint to-day, yet we cannot deny that in many other respects our first attempts to give a purely historical treatment of the commencement of our religion was somewhat unsatisfactory.

The splendid manner in which Ferdinand Christian Baur attempted this same task, some thirty years ago, is well known. Never has the internal criticism of historical sources been treated in a more lofty manner than, for example, in his Church History of the First Three Centuries. In this work the collected literary materials were sifted, and its position allotted to every part; and thus the old ecclesiastical history became pre-eminently a history of literature. But the presentation of the literary process is only a part of the work to be accomplished. Literary monuments are always only a casual deposit of historical movements, not these movements themselves. After the contest about theological conceptions which presents itself more espe-

cially in literature, there remain rich historical materials, which had little interest for Baur. The true motive power of Christianity was not its theology, but the strong religious and moral impulse which proceeded from Jesus himself. The rest is merely local and individual. Much, too, was developed from the relations of the young Church to the century and the state. To complete the picture of theological movements which Baur has so splendidly described, upon this side, is the task which historical theology has inherited from the mighty dead. An attempt to bring out the historical connection interwoven between the primitive Church and its age, was first undertaken by Renan. But just as certainly as he who needs the mechanical impulse of miracle as an explanation of the conquest of Christianity over the powers of its age, has *not* comprehended its internal pre-eminence, so neither has he who seeks to explain that great movement by any of the childish vehicles used by Renan. Various kinds of idyllic situations, foolish coincidents, innocent deceits, cannot make a new theory of life. History, more especially the religious, declines such a petty derivation.

What is needed is rather such a comprehension of the internal pre-eminence of Christianity over the theories and tendencies of its age, that its course can be understood without recourse to the crutches of miracles and convenient coincidences. Certainly, there must be above all a religious understanding, which has a proper sense of the power of the factors here at work. When an irreligiousness which is self-conscious and founded on principle undertakes to write "A Life of Jesus," it at once becomes apparent that, in order to understand a founder of religion, one must oneself be religious; just as much as to compose a useful history of music, one must be musical. Only on the supposition that he was not able to appreciate the power of religion, can we

explain the strange judgment of David Strauss, that all the true and good things uttered by Jesus are scarcely worthy of regard when compared with the results of the belief in the resurrection; so that, *historically considered*, this must be declared to be the greatest historic humbug which ever occurred. Thus it was considered possible *historically* to derive a revolution like that of Christianity from an illusion. When the one theory refutes the other, it is because it rests upon *internal* grounds; and where those are wanting, neither actual nor invented miracles can turn the course of the world's history. But for him who places no value upon the power of religious impulse, all the mighty revolutions in the world's history proceeding from this source remain unintelligible; and because he sees movements whose motive power he cannot recognize, the whole of the antecedents appear to him to be—humbug! Such a conception may be interesting, but it cannot be called *historic*.

An historical view of Christianity is that alone which understands the conquest of Christianity as *internally necessary*. To this task this present book offers a contribution, in so far as it describes the events of that great epoch, and at the same time attempts to picture how this age itself appeared in the little religious circles. Should it at times seem as though the history of the period was transformed into a New Testament history, this will be excused on the ground that the external influences of the time upon the young Church were always conditioned by its own internal development. The present conclusion of the whole work will assure the reader that the author remains conscious of his plan.

A. HAUSRATH.

HEIDELBERG, *April 1st*, 1873.

TRANSLATORS' NOTE.

In order to make this work more useful to our readers, whenever an English edition or translation exists of works referred to in the notes, the reference given is to the English edition. Thus all the references to Robinson in this translation will be found in the second edition of Dr. Robinson's "Biblical Researches in Palestine" (London: John Murray, 1856). Those to the Pirqe Aboth will be found in "Sayings of the Jewish Fathers," by Charles Taylor, M.A. (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1877). The references to Josephus are those of the edition of Didot: Paris, MDCCCXLV, which will be found to correspond to those of Whiston's Translation, with very few exceptions. Those of the Bible are to the English Bible. When practicable, the words of the Authorized Version have been preserved. It has at times been found necessary to depart from this Version in order to preserve the meaning of the original. Great assistance has been obtained in this work from "The Holy Bible," edited, with various Renderings and Readings, by Revds. T. K. Cheyne, R. L. Clarke, S. R. Driver, and Alfred Goodman: London, 1876.

The references to the Psalms of Solomon will be found in the "Messias Judæorum" of Dr. Hilgenfeld, Leipzig, 1868; to Enoch, in "Das Buch Enoch" of Dr. A. Dillmann, Leipzig, 1853; and to the Sibylline Oracles, in "Die Sibyllinischen Weissagungen, vollständig Gesammelt," von Dr. J. H. Friedlieb, Leipzig, 1852.

The reader is requested to make the following corrections:

Page 89, note 1. The reference to "Jesus of Nazara," Theological Translation Fund Library, i. 433, is to the German edition. The reference to the English is ii. 157.

Page 99, note 1. For Philo, De curit, read De carit.

Page 111. The reference to note 1 is Berachot, bab. 61 a. At line 16 from the top of the page, at the word "out," read note 2, a reference to Philo, de profugis i. Mang. 554.

Page 191. Line 22 from top, for "were the first which enabled," read "were those which at last enabled."

Page 200. Line 17 from top, for "deceived," read "undeceived;" and line 26 from top, for "by the most celebrated Rabbis," read "of the most celebrated Rabbis."